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THE FELLĀḤĪN OF UPPER EGYPT

CHAPTER I

EGYPTIAN VILLAGES AND THEIR INHABITANTS

THE natural barriers of Egypt (Fig. 1) have enabled the inhabitants, particularly those of the upper country, to live in comparative isolation throughout the whole of their history. On the north side lies the sea, along the east and west sides stretch vast, almost waterless deserts, while to the south ingress by way of the Nile is impeded by a series of cataracts. Their geographical isolation has doubtless been responsible for the characteristic conservatism of the Egyptian peasants. This conservatism is particularly apparent in their religious and social customs and their commoner industries, which, as will be more especially seen in the final chapter, have remained almost, if not entirely, unchanged from Pharaonic times.

The vast solitudes of the deserts are terrifying to the country folk, most of whom, up to the present day, cannot be induced to traverse even the lower fringes of those wastes after sunset (see Fig. 2). Fear of hyenas, and, still more, fear of *'afārīt*,[1] forbids any man to venture beyond the cultivation at night. The ordinary peasant, unless he is obliged to remain in the fields either to protect his crops or to watch over his sheep and goats, returns to his village before sunset, remaining there until just before the dawn of the following day.

The deserts have proved themselves valuable defences against invasion, the peoples who conquered the country at different periods of its history having usually entered it from the north-east. These invaders do not seem to have left any very marked impression on the physical aspect of the Upper Egyptians at any rate; most of these still bear a striking facial resemblance to the ancient inhabitants of the land whom we see depicted on the walls of the temples and tomb-chapels and in the portrait-statues of the Old,

[1] See Chapter XIV.

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Middle, and New Kingdoms. What really is beginning to affect the racial purity of the Egyptians is the presence among them of the descendants of negro slaves, who have been imported in large numbers by the Arabs in comparatively recent times. Many of them are now settled in certain of the villages, where they have

FIG. 1.—MAP OF EGYPT

married among themselves or with the *felläḥîn*, the result being that the population of such villages is almost entirely composed of black, or half-black, people. So far as I have observed, this negroid element is particularly marked in the Fayûm and Beni Ṣuêf, and on the edge of the cultivation in Minia and Asyûṭ provinces, where large numbers of Arabs have been settled for several generations.

The influence of the deserts may be seen in Egyptian folk-tales,

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carefully put by amount to a considerable total, which may be profitably invested. Thanks to a lucky deal in cotton, or some other venture, the former humble itinerant vendor finds himself well on the way to becoming a man of substance.

The house-doors are often decorated with a china plate or saucer fixed into the masonry above the lintel, as a charm against the evil eye. A house may also be decorated with coloured line-drawings of camels, boats, trains, trees, and other objects, some hardly

FIG. 9. A VILLAGE STREET

identifiable. Such artistic efforts denote that one or more members of the family inhabiting the house have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, the design representing the various objects seen by the pilgrim on his way to the sacred city.

The interiors of the villages are often very picturesque, in spite of the dirt and squalor usually found in them. The Arabs are far more particular in this respect, their villages and settlements being much cleaner in every way than those of the Egyptian peasants. This difference between the two races is so marked that I can almost always tell if a village is Arab or Egyptian directly I enter it.

A mosque is to be found in every village, and in many places

PERSONAL DECORATION AND ORNAMENTS

with both sexes among the peasants, and it may be resorted to for utilitarian as well as for decorative purposes. The operation of tattooing is a very painful one, and is performed by specialists in the art. Sometimes a woman tattoos women and girls, and a man men and boys, but there is no hard-and-fast rule about this (see Fig. 25). The street cry of the tattooer is "*Yā ghabī ta'āla dukk!*" ("O lad, come and be tattooed!"). A woman who desires to be tattooed will, on hearing a female tattooer utter her street cry, call out, "Come here, O damsel who tattoos!"

FIG. 20. CHILD (AN ONLY SON) WEARING SPECIAL EARRING—FOR WHICH SEE INSET

The implement used in tattooing consists of seven needles fixed into a short stick, which is bound round at the end and then plastered over to keep the needles firmly in position. Sometimes smaller needles, and only five in number, are used for tattooing children. Lamp-black is the pigment employed, and this is usually mixed with oil, though some people say that water is used. However, when I last witnessed the operation of tattooing oil was mixed with the lamp-black.

A tattooer often attends the village market, where he can be seen plying his trade. Samples of the various designs, which are very numerous, are often framed and propped up against the tree

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304 463 531 under which he squats, so that his clients can choose whatever pattern or patterns they prefer. Some are very elaborate, and must involve considerable suffering on the part of the person who is tattooed with them. Many of the patterns are conventional designs, and I am assured that they have no special meaning, but are chosen according to individual taste and fancy. One pattern is called *esh-shagareh* (the tree), and is the one usually chosen by both men and women to decorate the back of the right hand. So far as I have observed, this pattern when used by women differs slightly from that used by men. The drawing given here (Fig. 21) I made from the hand of a woman; the marks were tattooed on her hand when she was a young girl.

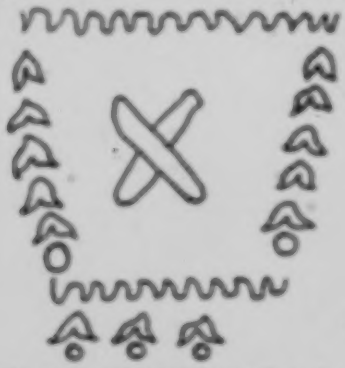

FIG. 21. TATTOO MARKS ON THE BACK OF A WOMAN'S RIGHT HAND AND ACROSS THE BACK OF THE WRIST

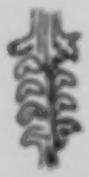

FIG. 22. TATTOO MARK FROM EDGE OF LOWER LIP TO BASE OF CHIN

304 531 The women are usually tattooed from the edge of the lower lip down to the base of the chin. The pattern shown in Fig. 22, copied by me from the same woman, is also called *esh-shagareh*. The tattoo on the back of the hand and wrist, as well as on the fingers and thumb, is said to make them strong.

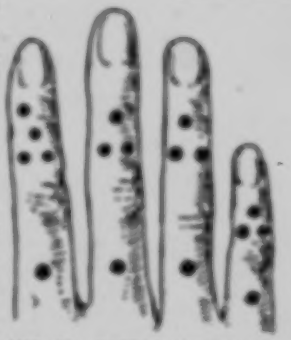

FIG. 23. TATTOO MARKS ON WOMAN'S FINGERS TO MAKE THEM STRONG

FIG. 24. TATTOO MARKS ON THUMB BELOW THE SECOND JOINT TO MAKE THE THUMB STRONG

304 A boy is often tattooed with a single dot on his chin and another near his right nostril; also most boys have three dots, thus ∴, tattooed on one arm, just above the wrist. Boys are tattooed in

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F 304 789 If a woman has lost several children in succession, when another one arrives she has it tattooed with a small dot in the centre of its forehead and another on the outer side of the left ankle. She believes that after this the child will live, because her *ḥarīneh*, seeing these marks, will not attempt to take her child.[1] The belief is that when King David had the interview with the queen of the *aḳrān* described in the following chapter she promised that any child that had these tattoo marks on the forehead and ankle should not be injured by its mother's *ḥarīneh*.

F 304 755 753 776 One man, who was a village guard far south in Upper Egypt, had a fish tattooed on the inner side of one arm, near the wrist. He told me that it was done some years before, when he was possessed by an *'afrīt*, that it quite cured him, and that he had never been troubled in that way since. This fish mark does not always serve a curative purpose, for in a village much farther north I saw a boy with a similar design tattooed on the back of one of his hands, and he assured me that it was done only as an ornament.

F C 304 787 Most of the Copts have a cross tattooed on the inner sides of the wrists. There is a belief among some, if not all, of those Copts belonging to the *felläḥīn* class that the Abyssinians will one day conquer Egypt, and will kill all the Copts as well as the Muslims if they (the Copts) cannot show this sign on their wrists. The Copts will, it is said, hold up their hands, thus exposing to view the sign of their religion.

F C 304 531 788 One Coptic friend of mine, a man of good position, showed me some tattoo marks on his arm. There was an elaborate pattern on the inner side of his arm, below which were tattooed the dates of the two occasions on which he had gone on pilgrimages to Jerusalem—1911 and 1914. Another Copt told me that his little sister also had the year of her visit to Jerusalem tattooed on one arm, and that in future the year of each succeeding pilgrimage that she made to the sacred city would be similarly recorded. His mother, who had performed the pilgrimage on several occasions, had had each year of this event tattooed on one of her arms. Tattooing can thus be a means of record-keeping.

F 304 463 The operation of tattooing is an exceedingly painful one, and has very often unpleasant results, though the discomfort may be only temporary. One of my servants, a young man of about twenty-two years of age, was very anxious to have the back of his right hand tattooed this year. A specialist in the art was usually

[1] See pp. 69 ff. for explanation of *ḥarīneh*.

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present at the weekly market, seating himself, with all his paraphernalia, on the outskirts of the market-place and under the shadow of a tree. A number of patterns were placed before the young man; he at once selected that called *esh-shagareh*, and the tattooer set to work. While working he had no occasion to refer to his pattern; long and constant practice had made him an adept. He would lightly prick out a small portion of the design, then work over it two or three times more, and so proceed until the task was completed. The first finger was not touched, and, when I remarked on this, my servant told me that that finger was never tattooed on a man's hand, but that it was done on a woman's. It took some time before the work was finished, the pain, which was great, being heroically borne by the unfortunate young man. However, I suppose that the thought of how beautiful he would look afterward helped him to endure! I rather fancy that the tattooing of the hand is a sign of manhood; it is certainly a painful initiatory rite. Soon after I returned to my house I found that the young man's hand, and indeed the whole of the right arm, had begun to swell, and that he was decidedly feverish. I made him lie down, and as the morning went on the fever and inflammation increased, and he was unfit to move. I wanted to send for a doctor, but he assured me he would soon be all right, and that most people got like this after having their hand tattooed. Toward the late afternoon he was much better, and by the next morning he had practically recovered.

Among the negroid peoples in Egypt, especially among the Berberines, cicatrization lines are often seen along the cheeks. These are probably tribal marks. Occasionally similar marks are to be seen near the ear or on the side of the forehead, and these have usually been made as a cure for bad eyes, headache, or other ills. Some Egyptians have the marks of two or three short cuts on the side of the face close to the ear. When I inquired as to the meaning of these cuts I was told that they were made because it was the custom. This practice is, I think, tending to die out.

It is quite a common sight to see notches cut along the outer edge of the ear—sometimes in one ear only, sometimes in both. The number of notches also varies, and in some cases only one has been cut. I have never noticed these notches in women's ears. I have observed that this kind of intentional deformation of the ear is common among many of the Arab tribes settled in Egypt,

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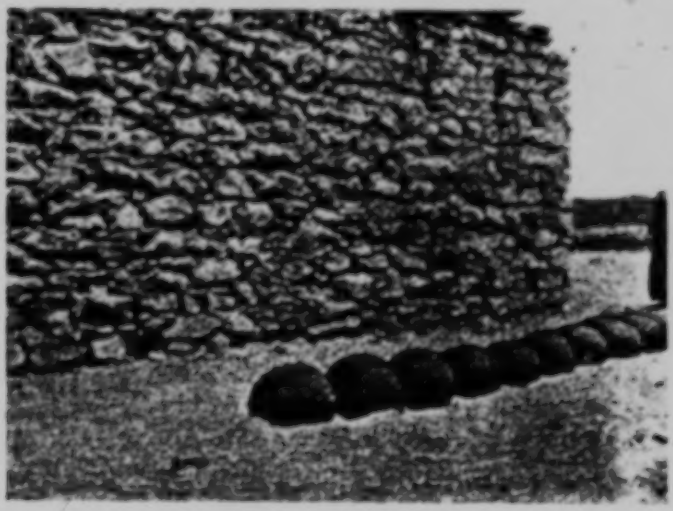
should be noted that in this case the pot was not taken out of the hollow in the ground until it was ready for sun-baking. 323 563

Similar jars are made by another family of potters in this Arab village, where the women assist their menfolk by preparing the clay for use. The method employed in the manufacture of these jars is the same as that just described.

Much farther south I saw a somewhat different method. The pots, which are of various shapes and sizes, are not only all entirely 323 184



[915]

FIG. 71. WATER-JARS SUN-BAKING

wheel-turned, but the material of which they are made differs from that used farther north; also, the vessels are covered with a slip and painted with simple designs. [531]

The pots are made of *ḥamr* (a reddish clay), which is brought in large lumps from the adjacent desert. These are broken up, soaked in water, and then kneaded into a clay of the right consistency. No chopped straw is mixed with it. After the pots have been turned on the wheel (Fig. 72) they are placed on hard clay disks to sun-bake for half a day, and during this period they are tilted slightly from time to time, so that the air may circulate underneath. This is done so as to ensure an even evaporation of the superfluous moisture from all parts of 323 [317]

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323 the vessels; otherwise the pots would crack while being baked in the kiln.

When the pots have thus been dried in the sun they are handed over to a woman, who takes each one in turn and smooths the base of the vessel with a knife, cutting off the superfluous clay. The pots are then returned to the disks and left to sun-bake again for two or three days. They are then passed on to another woman, who paints them all over with a slip (Fig. 73). This is made of powdered *ṭafl* (a yellow clay) mixed with water. The pots are

FIG. 72. THE POTTER MAKING HIS WHEEL REVOLVE

now left to dry for ten minutes or so, when they are passed on to another set of women and girls, who polish them both inside and out with a smooth pebble of basalt (Fig. 74 and p. 152, Fig. 80). When this process is completed they are handed on to a woman artist, who paints them all over with simple designs (Fig. 75). The paint, which is made of a material called *mughrek* (red ochre), pounded up and mixed with water, is applied with a feather. The designs are freehand, and are put on very rapidly, without any pattern to work from.

The pots are now ready for the kiln, where they are fired as soon as the oven is ready for them, but they can be put on one side for a short time without any detriment if the preparation of the kiln is not complete.

[Text continues on p. 148]

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323 Dried maize-stalks (*ḥāṭ*) are used as fuel for the furnace, which
372 is lighted under a large circular oven, in which the vessels are placed in rows, one above the other. Cakes of buffalo- or cow-dung are placed on the top of the last layer of pots. The oven, be it noted, is roofless. The furnace below is kept open and constantly supplied with fuel for some hours. Then the furnace is closed, and the fire left to burn out. Meanwhile, the cakes of dung get gradually hot from the heat of the furnace below, and this ensures a good heat at the top as well as at the bottom of the oven.

FIG. 75. WOMAN ARTIST PAINTING THE POTS

323 On the site of this pottery factory a large number of tiles are also made (Fig. 76), the material being ordinary clay mixed with finely chopped straw. Men only are employed in this industry.

Each tile is shaped in a shallow wooden mould with a handle very similar to that used in brick-making (see p. 154, Fig. 81). The tiles are turned out of the mould on to the ground, and there left to sun-bake for two weeks during the winter and for one week in the summer. They are then placed in piles in the oven, the baking being carried out in exactly the same way as described above. The furnace is kept open and constantly supplied with fuel for five to six hours in the case of smaller ovens, and for seven to eight hours when the ovens are larger. The whole process of baking occupies about forty-eight hours from start to finish; by that time the tiles have cooled down and can be removed from the oven.

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On another pottery-making site in Fayûm Province which I visited large *ziyâr* and pans, as well as *ḫulal* (see p. 151) and other small vessels, are made. Both hand- and wheel-made methods are employed here. The clay used in the manufacture of the larger vessels is obtained from Kîmân Fâris. This clay is soaked in water till it is of the right consistency, then *mûṣ* is mixed with it and well kneaded. The words *mûṣ* and *tibn* both mean finely chopped straw, but the former is so finely chopped that it is more like a powder. This mixture is left to soak for one day in a large hollow in the ground. It is then removed and left piled up in a heap for four days before it is ready for use. Each potter takes a large quantity of this prepared clay and places it conveniently near the spot where he is working, keeping it covered with sacking to prevent further evaporation.

FIG. 76. MAN MAKING TILES

The *ziyâr* and large pans are made on the wheel, the former in the manner described earlier in this chapter; they are, however, decorated with simple designs on the upper half of the vessel. This decoration is done with the aid of an implement called a *ġarût* (see p. 152, Fig. 80), which consists of a thin, flat piece of iron bent at a right angle at the top.

For making the pans the process is as follows. The revolving table is covered with a thin layer of clay, and on this a thick pillar

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The custom of binding the cord just below the rims of the larger pans may have been also practised in former times when making the upper part of a *zīr*. As I stated earlier in the chapter, the potter usually makes incised marks with his thumbnail just below the rim of a *zīr*, the marks roughly resembling those made by the impress of the cord. This impress may have suggested a pattern, which the conservative mind of the potter demanded should always appear on that portion of the pot, even when the cord was no longer wound round it. Thus the marks made round the base of the rim by the thumbnail may be an imitation of somewhat similar markings left by a cord bound round this part of the *zīr* in earlier times.

FIG. 78. PANS BOUND WITH CORDS DRYING IN THE SUN

Smaller vessels, such as *ḳulal* (singular *ḳulleh*) (Fig. 79), are also made at this factory, and the clay used is obtained from Begīg, or Abgīg, as this village is sometimes called. *Ṭafl* (yellow clay) brought from Kīmān Fāris is mixed with the ordinary clay, the proper proportions being two-thirds ordinary clay to one-third *ṭafl*. These two materials are laid in water to soak till they are quite soft. They are then removed to a deep cavity dug in the ground, where a man kneads them with his feet. The mixture is taken out and piled in a heap, so that the superfluous moisture may evaporate.

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ing way, the materials employed being taken from the palm-tree.

A number of the mid-ribs of palm-branches are split up lengthways, the leaves likewise. The basket-maker takes a certain number of the split mid-ribs, the number varying according to the required thickness of the coil, these forming a foundation. An iron needle, somewhat more slender than that used for the plaited baskets, is threaded with one of the split leaves, which is sewn over and over the foundation, almost, if not quite, concealing it. This type of basket is again built up spirally, each stitch being passed through the preceding coil (Figs. 86 and 87). Such baskets are made in a large variety of shapes, from flat, round trays to large receptacles with lids. They are often decorated with simple designs in colours, the leaves being, of course, dyed before they are sewn into the baskets.

FIG. 86. UNFINISHED BASKETS, SHOWING METHODS OF WORKING

FIG. 87. BASKET WITH OPEN WAVY-LINE PATTERN

Some baskets, which I was told are made only in two small villages in Fayūm Province, have the base made in the way described above, while the sides show an open wavy-line pattern (Fig. 87). These also are made in a large variety of sizes and shapes, and are very attractive and decorative. The wavy line consists of mid-rib foundations closely bound round with the leaves. It must be remembered that both the leaves and the mid-ribs are fresh when the baskets are made, and are

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to climb down and join the festive crowds he found that he could not move, and that, when he tried to do so, his limbs were rigid and his whole body paralysed. On seeing the plight of the wretched man cries to the sheikh were immediately raised. People came with drums and tambourines, others sang and clapped their hands in rhythmic accompaniment to the music, till at last, after about two hours of such intercession, the man regained his power of locomotion, and so was able to move away.

FIG. 140. TOMB OF THE SHEIKH UMBĀRAK
The external mural decorations are to be noted.

Some time after this exhibition of his power the sheikh 'Abdu l-Laṭīf appeared to a man in a village a few miles distant, telling him to build him a tomb there. The people of this village went in triumph to the sheikh's native place and exultantly told the inhabitants that their sheikh had now come to them.

The original tomb still exists, but it is in a very dilapidated state, and no doubt in course of time it will wholly disappear, unless something happens to revive the veneration formerly paid to the holy man in his native village. Meanwhile, the people of the village where 'Abdu l-Laṭīf's later resting-place is built hold a *mūlid* every year in honour of their acquired sheikh.

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CHAPTER XVI

SOME ANNUAL FESTIVALS

THE *Mûlid en-Nebi*, the annual celebration of the birthday of the Prophet, is of course the most important of all the festivals held in honour of Muslim saints. However, I shall content myself here with a description of some of the annual *mawâlid* (plural of *mûlid*) held in honour of local village saints which I have attended myself during my six years' sojourn in Egypt.

The sheikh Umbârak is buried in a village in Middle Egypt, and a whitewashed domed building has been erected above his grave. One or two of the outside walls of his tomb are, as is customary, decorated with pictures descriptive of the pilgrimage to Mecca,[1] roughly sketched in red and blue paint, the remainder being inscribed with passages from the Ḳorân. Around the dome are small, what might almost be called clerestory windows, in each of which a lighted candle is placed every night. There is a female 'servant' attached to this sheikh, who is supposed to keep the tomb in order, receive the donations of devotees, and light the candles every evening. One wonders how she manages to carry out this work satisfactorily, as she is quite blind!

The *mûlid* held in honour of the sheikh Umbârak takes place in April and begins early in the afternoon, on the morning of which day similar festivals are inaugurated in certain neighbouring villages in honour of their own particular sheikhs.

At about two o'clock a large crowd collected in the vicinity of the sheikh's tomb, several people, chiefly women, seating themselves around it. The blind servant received donations from the faithful on behalf of the sheikh, part of the time having the sheikh's flag wrapped around her (Fig. 141). As the donors presented their gifts they recited the *Fâtiḥah* in low and rapid tones. In the road which ran past the burial-ground, and in the adjacent palm-grove, the holiday-makers engaged in friendly conversation or indulged in various amusements (Fig. 142); and along the roadside booths

[1] See p. 245, Fig. 140.

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SOME ANNUAL FESTIVALS

had been erected, wherein butchers and vendors of sweetmeats, toys, and other wares plied their trade, to all appearance doing excellent business (Fig. 143).

Eggs dyed a bright cerise or yellow are a special feature of all these *mawālid*, and those who sold them attracted a considerable number of customers. These coloured eggs, which are also sold on the Coptic Easter Monday, are used for two games, which are played as follows. In one game two boys or men take part, each grasping an egg in his hand. One of them knocks his egg against that of his opponent, and the man whose egg is not cracked is regarded as the winner and takes the cracked egg of his adversary. In the other game several eggs are arranged in a row on the ground, and a number of men sit at a certain distance away from them. Each in turn rolls an egg toward the row of eggs facing him, and the man who first succeeds in cracking one of them wins the lot. These games are played by large numbers of people at all *mawālid*, but never by women and girls. Coloured eggs are used for games, in many cases similar to these, in various parts of Europe, especially in the Balkan states. Again, in some of the Northern counties of England coloured eggs are still used in a game played on Easter Monday which closely resembles the second Egyptian game.

FIG. 141. FEMALE 'SERVANT' OF THE SHEIKH UMBĀRAK, WRAPPED IN THE SHEIKH'S FLAG ON THE DAY OF HIS MŪLID

There were other attractions at this *mūlid* of the sheikh Umbārak. In the palm-grove a conjurer in one part and a poet

[Text continues on p. 255]

/83 cont'd/

(c) Amulets, called Hegab, pl. Ahgeba in Arabic. They are also symbolically called "Sigha" (jewelry), because they are made of silver or gold although /84/ they are amulets. These amulets must be worn by the patient throughout his life. They are square, oval, rectangular or round "plates", with (9) rattles or stones attached. Some of them have certain words in Arabic or designs engraved. These designs may be human figures, fish, swords, stars or a crescent. They have different names, e.g. heart amulets worn on the heart, head amulets worn on the forehead; the possessed person may also wear rings on the thumbs or bracelets on their arms or legs.

(d) Candles and incense (Bukhur) which are burned during the Zar-ceremony also differ according to the spirit to which they are addressed. (10)

The Zar-ceremony

The possessed person has to take the following steps before starting a Zar-ceremony:

1. The patient must firstly consult the Kūdiya about her ailments.
2. The Kūdiya asks for some object belonging to the patient, usually a handkerchief. This is called "Attar", i.e. "trace". This will be kept by the Kūdiya for several days during which she will study it, get in contact with her spiritual world and thereby determine the particular spirit who took possession of her patient.

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(9) Similar plates with magical powers releasing from sickness and consecrated to the two gods Khonso and Ptah are known from Ancient Egypt at the time of the New Kingdom. See Erman's book "Egypt", the Arabic translation by Abu Baker and Moharm Kamel, Cairo 1952, p. 292

(10) Bukhur or incense is prepared under the supervision of the Kūdiya. It consists of Mastica, Ouda, Gawli, Murr Hijar, Kafur Tayar i.e. different kinds of aromatic woods etc. Bukhur was used also in Ancient Egypt; the priests used to begin the ceremonies in the temples by burning bukhur. See the Arabic translation of Erman. p. 295

8:Schaefer A-8 (1900-1901) 1904
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85.

In Love.

x534 One day, à propos of this song, it occurred to a wag amongst our men, to improvise verses, and these improvisations were sung throughout that entire afternoon and, indeed, [186] to the Egyptian national hymn. This hymn is a very curious, [533] musical production, which, I am told, was composed after the oriental style, by a European.

Ṭāli'a min bēt abūha
rēḥe ḥōš eg-gimāl,
'ēnha-l-ḥabībha terā'i
wil-maḥrame fīdha-š-šimāl.

As she comes out of her father's house
And goes toward the camel-yard,
Her eye looks after her beloved,
And her handkerchief is in her left hand.

[293] 2. The place enclosed by a cactus-hedge or otherwise, in which the camels pasture. It lies outside the village proper.

4. The women are fond of coquetting with little em- [832] broidered handkerchiefs. Compare a song in Dalman, p. 25 [293] (from Jerusalem), which begins thus: "I see Mish'al sitting ●[531] by the mill, in Mish'al's hand an embroidered handkerchief."